428 property, a form of ultimogeniture. Such cases are understood and usually cause no friction. Other instances sometimes give rise to bitter feelings. Cases were recorded where children had broken away from parental authority and had become established through their own efforts. Sometimes the elderly persons were cared for by a niece or nephew, or even by some person not related at all, who received all the property. Resentment is generally felt by the children, even though they may have well deserved such treatment.

If properties are small, the daughters are sometimes slighted. If a lot, for example, is too small to divide and there are a son and daughter, the son will get the lot. On the other hand, if the lot is large, it will be divided between them. Often, however, the brother will take advantage of his sister, who, to avoid a quarrel, will accept an unfair division but will lose no chance of getting even. An example that came to attention was a division of a lot in which the brother took the part containing most of the fruit trees. When the brother went on a 3-day [593] trip during pear season, his sister and her husband cut all the pears and sold them. The brother hesitated to do anything about it because it would have brought out the unfairness of the original transaction.

Frequently, the division of personal and movable property is unfair. Children who are away from home are apt to get nothing. However, their land rights are usually more or less respected. Even so, on their return, they may appeal to the *municipio*, which will force the other heirs to make a proper settlement.

428 Various adjustments are made to meet special
423 situations. Often an expert in property values is called in to make the division. For example, a man with two children may have left a lot and a piece of farm land too small to divide. The expert decides the value of each and the one receiving the least valuable parcel is recompensed through sale of personal property. Where a lot cannot be divided, a piece of land may be sold from the estate to buy a lot for one of the children.

428 Conflicts also arise from transactions entered
425 into by the owner before death without informing the heirs. For example, Agustín Rangel's father bought a house from his own father.

425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán are over inheritance. For example, a woman
675 on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house (*"troje"*) to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

428 Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
593 sons remain in the family group and which function as joint families, the group dissolves
768 immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

428 All inheritances are supposed to be registered
217 at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where an outsider is called in to make the division.
425 Then each heir is required to sign (or someone signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

181 Even though many details of the economic
556 system of Cherán are still not known in detail, some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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[p.101b]

601 ever, should the parents happen to have been close friends, they might continue to call each
602 other primo(a) and continue to observe the appropriate behavior.

The major kinship obligation is to attend at certain functions and to assist with labor under certain circumstances. All close relatives must be greeted by relationship terms when encountered on the street or in the house, but this greeting may not be given to persons who still have reciprocal obligations such as distant cousins.

593 *Parent-child behavior.*—Parents are expected to look after the material needs of children, provide the necessary education, seek the proper godparents for them, and aid them to have a proper wedding. Children are expected to be respectful and to aid parents in their old age. If they do not conform to expectations, they may be disinherited.

Behavior of siblings.—The ideal pattern of Cherán evidently expects siblings to be close friends and to help one another. To a certain degree this behavior exists. Only for brother or sister would a man give monetary aid or give free labor at any other time than a house moving. Nevertheless, numerous cases were

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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593 encountered of bitter quarrels between siblings, usually over inherited property or property transactions. In some cases this extended to refusal to assist in traditional ways in which the aid even of remote relatives is expected.

604 *Avuncular-nepotic relationships.*—Data on behaviors in this category are inadequately documented. Evidently boys often have close relationships with their uncles. This relationship is evidenced most clearly in the fact that a boy often tells an uncle when he has "stolen" a girl and may take his fiance to live in his uncle's house, while the uncle first breaks the news to the boy's father. In general, boys seem to turn to their uncles in crisis rather than to their fathers. There likewise seem close relations between girls and their aunts and uncles. Cases are known where a niece rather than a child has cared for old people (and in some cases inherited the property). Comfortably situated families with few children may care for a niece from a poor family with many children, feeding the child well and often buying new clothing. In return, the child will help, running errands and doing housework. In at least one case, the niece really took the initiative. Invited to spend the day,

868 10 they may guide the plow and do other field work, for short times. By as early an age as
857 15, boys may be working for wages. When a boy begins to accompany his father and to aid in his work, he no longer plays with girls. There seems no rule about this, but about this time, when a boy is not working, he goes into the streets and plays with other boys of his own age, while the girl no longer plays outside but always stays near her mother unless sent on an errand. On rare occasions, if a child is
[861] disobedient, he may be struck once or twice with a rope or switch.

At a little more than 6 or 7 a girl may be carrying about a younger child and caring for it much of the time. Soon after this she begins to grind on the metate, not as a help, but simply to learn how. The mother also gets a small water jar, and at an early age the girl accompanies her mother to get water. Girls observe the mother in the kitchen and gradually begin to take part in the activities. By the age of 8 a girl may be going alone to the mill with maize. If disobedient, girls may be punished in the same way as boys. In general, it is the opinion in Cherán, and this was borne out by all observations, there is very little disobedience or
● [593] punishment at this time and the relations between father and son and mother and daughter are close and affectionate once the child begins active participation in the adult activities. The period of conflict, then, seems a rather limited one, between the time when a child is no longer carried about and the time when it begins to participate in the adult life. These remarks again are based on very inadequate data and observation.

Some time between the ages of 6 and 10,
852 usually toward the upper limits of the age
869 period, the child is usually confirmed. There is very little ceremony involved, but when a
608 visit from the Bishop is expected there will be a period of some weeks beforehand when children will be instructed and adults will confess so they may receive communion. For the event a new pair of godparents is sought. These godparents in theory assume the same responsibility as do the godparents of baptism. Actually the bonds seem to be much less close and the duties much less.

588 586 recent years it is said that these restrictions have disappeared.

One reason for the free union is the difficulty of securing a legal divorce. Such a divorce can be granted only by a court of first instance (*juzgado de primer instancia*). The nearest court of this kind is in Uruapan, and to secure a divorce requires many trips to Uruapan and an outlay of more money than most Cherán residents can afford. Moreover, most people do not understand the needed steps.

586 Causes of divorce are drunkenness, wife beating, failure to support the family, or abandoning the family for another woman on the part of the man. On the part of the woman, infidelity is an important cause. Lack of children is rarely if ever the direct cause of divorce, and is not recognized as a sufficient reason. Incompatibility evidently may play a part also. Uncles and grandfathers of the married couple and the godparents of the marriage intervene if a marriage is not going smoothly, and attempt to persuade the couple to change their habits.

In all cases of divorce for whatever cause, the officials of the *municipio* investigate. If they find the divorce not justified, the officials may force the couple to continue living together. If the causes are deemed sufficient, the officials do not interfere, although they may supervise disposition of children so that they will have the best care. If children are less than 6 or 7 they are usually put in charge of the mother. Over that age they are usually given to the parent best able to rear them properly. If the mother is industrious and the father a drunkard, the children will be given to the mother, but if the mother is careless of her obligations, the father will receive the children. Dislike or quarrels rarely arise between relatives of a divorced couple. In free unions, as in marriages of widows or widowers, sometimes a parent is jealous of the spouse's children by a previous marriage, sometimes not.

[593]

ADULT LIFE

585 585 Entry into adult status is closely associated with marriage. Normally a child is not consulted in family affairs until he is married; the only exceptions are a few families where youths have not married at the customary ages. Usu-

885 ally by the time of marriage, individuals of
585 both sexes have mastered the essential technologies for carrying on life.

Nevertheless, marriage rarely if ever means
591 complete independence for either sex. The
593 couple almost invariably lives with the groom's parents after the marriage, usually for a year or longer. Even if the husband has enough resources to set up a separate establishment, he will rarely do so until after the first child is born and often he will not do so for several years.

593 For the wife, this appears to be a somewhat difficult time. She is definitely under the
606 thumb of her mother-in-law and for the first month after the wedding she is supposed to get up before daylight and make atole for everyone living in her new home. She is sent on errands and given orders constantly. Nevertheless, the difficulties can easily be overemphasized by a person from outside the culture. The bride is called "daughter" by her mother-in-law and in large measure is treated exactly as a daughter would be. In the relatively few instances in which it was possible to observe behaviors, outwardly a friendly and perhaps even affectionate relationship existed between mother and daughter-in-law, although one woman said she greatly feared her parents-in-law, who were very hard on her.

Although the daughter-in-law appears to be imposed upon by her mother-in-law to some extent, in some sense this is part of the process of gaining adult status and of the retirement of the parents to a less active life. The father does less work in the fields and leaves more and more of the harder labor and more and more of the responsibility to his son. In the same way, the mother leaves more and more of the running of the house to her daughter-in-law. If the parents have worked hard and have accumulated a reasonable amount of property, some of which they have probably expended in giving their children a proper marriage, it is considered right and proper that they should begin to work less hard.

[85] After a year or more of marriage, or after the birth of the first child, some change of status will begin to occur. In a minority of
596 cases, a new kitchen will be prepared and the
591 young couple will move out of the "*troje*" where

596 591 they have lived thus far. In the few cases where this is done, eventually several brothers and their wives may live in adjoining kitchens and the economic enterprises of the family will be carried on as a unit under the direction of the father. In such cases a joint purse will be kept by the parents or one of the older brothers. All important activities will be subject of discussion and consultation, particularly such matters as buying or selling land, building a new house, etc. In time, the direction of affairs will pass to the younger men, usually the older brother directing and giving final decisions. The extent to which the father will be consulted as he grows old will depend in part on his individual merits.

593 591 More commonly a joint family will not be established even though the son and his wife may remain living in the family residence. If the parents can afford it, they may give the son a lot or even a house and lot where he can live. Lacking parental aid, the son will do everything he can to acquire a new house and lot. Or his wife may own a house and lot which she has inherited and in which the couple will live.

593 423 885 Much the same situation will obtain regarding farm lands. A father may give his son some farm lands when he has shown he is able to manage his affairs properly. Or the son may work for others and save money to begin acquiring his own land. And in a considerable proportion of cases the wife will own lands which the husband will farm. In some cases, even though a joint family is not established, a son will take over management of the farm lands.

Lacking farm lands, the man will work for others as a laborer, become a trader going down to the hot country, work in the forest cutting ties, shakes, or lumber, or work at some trade if he knows one. In any case he may do some of these things on a part-time basis to supplement his income.

592 352 In addition to acquiring a house and lands, the couple needs to assemble the proper tools and furnishings. Although none of these are expensive, in the aggregate they require a bit of time, either to earn money to buy them or to make them. A census of the things found in a house, kitchen, and yard gives some idea of the amount of accumulation required.

291 based on actual inventories of a few middle-class homes and persons.

343 In addition to a house and kitchen, which constitute the Cherán minimum of decent housing, there are also many other structures to be built, mostly by the man himself. If he has burros or cattle, he will have a shed used as a stable when the animals are kept at the house. A pigpen is usually built of small poles, often with a shake roof over all or part of it and an opening to the street. Additional storage space for fodder or straw is often provided, usually a pole construction roofed with shakes. The lot needs to be fenced with poles and the street side preferably should have a wall of stone or stone topped with adobe bricks. A substantial gate with a sheltering roof is regarded as a virtual necessity.

593 Most of the family life goes on in the kitchen.
342 Cooking, eating, and sleeping all take place in the one structure. In fine weather, people may sit outside or sit on the porch of the house. Guests may sleep in the house, and when a son marries he and his bride will occupy the house for a year or more. Much of the business of living takes place in the lot, in the fields and mountains, and in the streets of the town.

593 When children come, the acquisitive activities
556 of the family become even more important.
571 Now, not only is there a desire to secure the minimum of housing, food, and clothing, as well as the property to make these things possible, but there is the urge to obtain resources with which to start the children out in life. Efforts are made to obtain additional fields and to buy lots so that when the children marry they can immediately have their own home and their own means of subsistence in what Cherán residents regard as the most satisfactory way, that is, by possessing sufficient farm lands.

593 As solid citizens the family members will
556 also have additional responsibilities. At least one out of four families will hold a *mayordomía*
554 at some time. The father will also serve as *comisionado* for various fiestas, perform some community labor, and serve on the night watch. He may also take some position in the church organization or occupy some office in the municipal government. If he can read and write he almost certainly will at some time be chosen for an office.

593 [578] Ideally, the objectives of the family are achieved by joint and harmonious cooperation between husband and wife. As in other cultures, there exist households in which there are continual quarreling and dislike between husband and wife, sometimes culminating in divorce. More common seem to be harmonious households in which at least mutual understanding and toleration are achieved; probably in the majority of cases there are also affection and trust. In harmonious households, all activities and plans are discussed by husband and wife. Even though a piece of land is owned by the man, he will consult with his wife before selling it and she will do the same with reference to her property. Important purchases are usually made only after consultation, also. In most cases where trust exists between husband and wife, it is the wife who holds the purse. That is, most actual cash is given to the wife. On her devolves the responsibility for spending the money wisely in small affairs and in accumulating the savings necessary for buying new lands or houses.

In general, the man is definitely the head of the family, but the manner of wielding authority and the degree of authority vary with the personalities of the married couple. If the man owns considerable property and the woman comes from a poor family, the man may enforce his authority by reminding her that she has nothing. There are also cases where the woman owns practically everything and uses the fact to dominate her husband. Ideally, and probably actually in a great many cases, the couple treat their property as being owned in common. In any case, both parents seem to wield about equal authority over the children. Women may give orders to their sons until they marry, just as much as may the men. Girls, on the other hand, are more directly dominated by their mothers, and the father expresses his opinions concerning their upbringing to the mother.

512 593 [462] Within the household certain routines and habits are common. Labor is rather strictly divided along sexual lines also. For example, the family usually rises about 5 o'clock in the morning, breakfasts about 8, lunches or dines at 1, and supps at 7:30 or 8, but the hours tend to vary from family to family. The family usually

[p. 195b]

593 sleeps on mats in the kitchen, husband and wife on one mat with a single blanket. Small chil-
512 dren under 9 or 10 years old sleep with the parents; above that age they sleep on separate mats and have a separate blanket.

512 The general weekly routine of the family of
517 a farmer or of a forest worker, who represent the typical Cherán families, is about as follows. On Sunday most of the women go to Mass at 6:30 or 7. The men may go at this time or wait until the 8 o'clock Mass, or may stay home and sweep the courtyard and street in front of the house. Children usually go to the 8 o'clock Mass. Most people do not eat until after Mass.

After Mass, men stand around the church and plaza or on the streets talking to their friends before going home for breakfast. After breakfasting, the young men get towels
[515] and go to the bathing place in one of the *barrancas* (about a mile from town) and bathe. The older men go out and loaf about the streets all morning, talking to friends and acquaintances. Older men bathe less often, but also usually bathe on Sunday. Between 11 and 12 the younger men return home, eat again, pick
[132] up their blankets (it is more apt to be windy or rainy in the afternoons) and go out on the streets to meet their friends again. Women may go out after dinner and visit neighbors. Small children, it might be noted, do not go to Mass but play around the house and nearby streets all day. A young unmarried man may hang around the corner near the house of some girl in whom he is interested. If the girl is also interested, she will go out after water several times during the day and the two will talk on the streets. If they are clever and the girl's family is either not very strict or not very suspicious, they may manage to talk together several hours.

At 5 p. m. is the *Rosario*, attended by many women, some men, and many of the young people.
[584] After the *Rosario* is the favorite time for stealing a girl for a wedding and, especially in the fall, the young man may be involved in helping his friends. Or he may simply walk along in the direction his girl is going in the hope of having a chance to talk to her. Alternatively, he may talk on the streets with friends or go to one of the billiard parlors. Although people eat later than usual on Sundays, the young